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A few of the dynamic forces of change that have brought about a new situation for the American Negro are presented. These forces have occurred without a violent revolution and within many institutions; the forces were most complete in the economic spheres, less so in the legal and political spheres, and least in the sphere of social relationship. However, the development in American race relations from 1942 to 1964 was the most rapid and dramatic social change ever to have occurred without a violent revolution.

The forces that brought about the change in the American Negro problem included a continuation of industrialization and technical advance, the high level of mobility among the American people, economic prosperity, the education of minority groups, and an increased American awareness of world opinion. Consistent support for civil rights on the part of the Supreme Court, with a lesser support from the other branches of the Federal Government and of the northern State governments, has proved helpful. Also influential were the propaganda and educational efforts for more equal implementation of civil rights.

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SOCIAL CHANGE and THE NEGRO PROBLEM

By ARNOLD ROSE

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

ARNOLD M. ROSE is professor of sociology at the University of Minnesota. He has taught at Bennington College, Washington University, and was Fulbright Professor at the University of Rome, Italy, in 1956-57. He served as president of the Society for the Study of Social Problems and the Midwest Sociological Society, and he has been Chairman of the International Group for Psychiatric Sociology since 1956.

Professor Rose has been a consultant to various research and community organizations, among them the Minnesota Delegation to the White House Conference on Aging, 1961, and the Minnesota Youth Conservation Commission, from 1955 to 1958.

The author has written and edited numerous scientific articles and books on scientific method, public opinion, housing, aging, problems of youth, social class, and minority group relations. Among his best known works are *An American Dilemma*, with Gunnar Myrdal and Richard Sterner; *The Negro in America*, and *America Divided: Minority Group Relations in the United States*, with Carolyn B. Rose.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE NEGRO PROBLEM

The changes in the American Negro problem during the past twenty years have been too extensive to record in a brief exposition. A comprehensive survey would be required to bring this subject truly up-to-date. We therefore propose merely to point out the dynamic forces of change and to illustrate some of the specific changes.

We believe that the prognoses of *An American Dilemma*, published some twenty years ago, have proved to be quite accurate: Changes have occurred at a considerably more rapid rate than was generally anticipated at that time; the changes have occurred without violent revolution (though not without sporadic violence) in harmony with the American tradition; the sources of chance have been numerous and were not confined to only one institution (some had considered the economic structure to be the only possible source of change); the changes have been catalytic in the sense that a change in one sphere has stimulated changes in other spheres; the changes have been most complete in the economic sphere, less profound in the legal and political spheres, and least prominent in the sphere of social relationship. Twenty years is a long period for a social science prognosis to hold true and time has, of course, provided some unforeseen elements of social reality.

An analysis of the dynamic forces operating in the present situation inevitably involves the selection of what is most significant in the complexity of current affairs. I give greatest emphasis to forces involving social power, both economic and political, sometimes wielded deliberately but more often impersonally in the form of great trends affecting the whole society. I give smaller stress to changes in public ideologies; and least weight to factors usually singled out as "psychological" (although it seems to me that a better socio-psychological analysis than is dominant today in academic circles would not separate the individual psychological factors from those involving social power and ideologies).

The major forces causing the rapid change in race relations since 1940 seem to have been: continuing industrialization and technical advance; the high level of mobility among the American people; economic prosperity; the organization and political

education of minority groups; an increased American awareness of world opinion; consistent support for civil rights on the part of the Supreme Court, a lesser support from the other branches of the federal government and of the Northern state governments; and the propaganda and educational efforts for more equal implementation of civil rights. Some of these forces are likely to continue to exert the same pressure as in the recent past; others are likely to change in their influence; and new forces are likely to have increasing influence.

Industrialization

Industrialization has created changes in race relations in several ways. First, it has eliminated cotton agriculture as the dominant source of Southern wealth. Racism grew up as an American ideology partly in response to the need to maintain a reliable and permanent work force in the difficult job of growing cotton. While American Negro slavery was older than extensive cotton agriculture, it took on major economic and policital significance in connection with the rise of "King Cotton" after 1793, and the patterns of discrimination and prejudice that have persisted to the present day took their form originally in the cotton-growing areas. Cotton agriculture remained a dominant element in the economy of the Southern states until the 1930's, but then it lost its preeminence because of the diversification of agriculture and the rise of manufacturing. The continuation of racism after the displacement of cotton as "king" is an example of the sociological principle that ideologies continue after the conditions that gave rise to them cease to exist. Nevertheless, the decline of cotton agriculture permitted other forces to weaken racism.

Industrialization prompted a sizable move of people from rural areas into the cities, where they found factory jobs and entered service occupations. Urbanization has always been associated with the weakening of traditional social structures. The caste system governing the relations between whites and Negroes in the South had its birth in the rural areas and imposed its structure upon a relatively static rural society. When Negroes moved into the cities—and even in the South, the majority of them now live in cities—the elaborate requirements of the caste system could hardly be maintained. Relationships in the city are too casual and too functional to require the constant manifestations of subordination on the part of Negroes that characterized the

rural caste system. Segregation became more physical than symbolic, and behind the walls of segregated isolation, Negroes were better able to build resistance to subordination.

Industrialization also brought about emigration from the South. While the great migration of Negroes was to the Northern cities until about 1940, it became increasingly a westward migration after that. The migration was, of course, partly due to the lag in Southern industrialization; but even with that now being overcome, the especially strong discrimination against Negroes in the South has motivated their continued migration out of that region. But the majority of Negroes no longer lives in the Deep and Upper South (the old border states have re-aligned themselves largely with Northern states), and the outward migration must necessarily slow down. The main significance of the northward migrations for the Negroes was that it separated them from the full-blown caste system of the South, even though they met other forms of discrimination and prejudice in the other regions of the country. In the North (which, for this purpose, includes the West also), they vote freely and have the almost full protection of the laws and the law-enforcement machinery. They, as well as the whites, get a better education in the North, and this has been a major factor in improving their status. Thus, Negroes have been much better able to improve their condition in the North, and they have used their improved condition (especially their vote) to help Negroes still living in the South.

Technological Progress and Change

Technological progress has been an important (though not the sole) factor which has contributed to the high level of prosperity since 1940. The prosperity and the almost full employment associated with it during the period of 1940-54 have been especially beneficial to Negroes. Measurements vary, but it has been estimated that the rise of average real income among Negroes since 1940 has been two to three times that among whites, though practically all of that improvement occurred before the economic recession of 1955. Since the average income of Negroes is still significantly below that of whites, the rapid improvement of their economic condition must be seen against the backdrop of great economic discrimination and poverty in the pre-1940 period. The prospects for further automation and the industrial use of nuclear energy will involve still higher productivity and a higher

standard of living for employed workers in the future — and Negroes are no longer excluded from the general economic improvement (especially in the North). The rise in average family income among Negroes since 1935 has meant not only a fuller participation in the material benefits of the modern economy but also a greater opportunity to obtain more education and other cultural benefits. It should also be remembered that continuing general prosperity among whites has tended to reduce one major source of frustration among whites, which sometimes contributes to scapegoating and race-baiting.

Technological change—especially in the form of automation—is having another effect—partly negative—on the position of Negroes in the United States. As a relatively unskilled element in the working population, the Negro is often the most rapidly displaced worker when changing technology requires an upgrading of skills. This process is aggravated by the fact that many Negroes are relative newcomers to the ranks of Northern industrial workers, and therefore have the lowest seniority and least protection from unionization. Hence, Negroes are the hardest hit by technological unemployment. Technological change and low seniority have, for all practical purposes, replaced discrimination as the main force in excluding Negroes from factory jobs in the North and West. Thus Negroes constitute a disproportionately large number of the "permanently unemployed," and their rate of becoming unemployed was about double that of white workers during the several recessions that have occurred since 1955. In July, 1963, 11.2 per cent of the Negroes in the labor force were unemployed, compared to 5.1 per cent among whites. Occupational training for Negroes is crucial. If minority workers get new job training, they will cease to be subject to special handicaps and will substantially close the gap between them and the already skilled workers of the majority group, who now also need retraining.

Protest and Pressure

The development of an educated elite and of a lively sense of group identification among Negroes has significantly impelled American race relations into a more equalitarian direction since the turn of the century. A wide range of protest and pressure associations have exerted their influence, sometimes with and sometimes without the collaboration of liberal whites. Although

this movement was quite highly developed by 1940, it has taken on some significant additional elements since then. The nonviolent resistance technique—as a means of achieving desegregation, borrowed from Gandhi, who was himself influenced by Thoreau—was apparently first used in the United States in 1942, by the newly organized Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in Chicago. Applied first in selected Northern cities, it was gradually tried in the border states and did not begin to work in the South until about 1954. The technique caught nationwide attention in 1955 with the spontaneous and independent development of the Montgomery (Alabama) bus strike, led by the Rev. Martin Luther King. After the successful conclusion of this effort, King organized the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) which worked for desegregation in other Southern cities. In 1959, the CORE technique of "sit-ins," used for years on an interracial basis, was adopted spontaneously by groups of Southern Negro college students and employed all over the South with considerable success. These students formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and a sympathetic group of Northern students (both white and Negro) formed the Students for Integration (SFI) and the Northern Student Movement (NSM), to provide moral and physical aid to the Southern SNCC and to CORE. The NSM also conducts an educational program for culturally deprived Negro children in certain Northern cities.

The significance of all these organizations was not simply that the Gandhian technique of nonviolent resistance was successfully added to the repertory of those seeking equal rights for Negroes, but also that large sections of the Negro masses were now directly participating in the efforts for the improvement of their status. The new organizations, rivals to some extent among themselves, placed themselves in partial opposition to the older NAACP and Urban League because their more traditional techniques of legal action in the courts and negotiation with whites in positions of power did not lend themselves to direct, local participation. The competition was healthy, however, for while the Negro youth and some lower income persons joined the newer organizations, the growing Negro adult middle class was stimulated to give increasing support to the older organizations. In the fall of 1963, all these organizations—supported by significant

segments of organized religion and labor—joined forces to promote a dramatic "March on Washington."

The Philosophy of Violence

Violence as a technique for changing the pattern of race relations was also developed in the post-World War II period. Some of this was a purely spontaneous response to white violence and did not take an organized form, as in the case of the Jacksonville, Florida, Negroes in March, 1964, who rioted and destroyed white property when a Negro woman was killed by a white man. But of greater significance was the acceptance of a philosophy of violence by a small number of fairly well educated Negroes, such as the group led by James Lawson of the United African Nationalist Movement, and by small numbers of poorly educated Negroes in the Muslim Brotherhood, the African Nationalist Pioneer Movement, and other nationalist organizations.

While cold conflict with white America had been found among the Negro lower class ever since the Garvey movement of the 1920's, it was never so well organized as in the Black Muslim movement ("Temple of Islam") of the 1950's and 1960's. This disciplined organization, probably reaching a membership of 100,000 by 1960, had as its stated goal a segregated territory within the United States, and it espoused—vaguely, in order not to violate the law—future violence to attain this goal. In 1964, one of its leaders, Malcolm X of New York, broke off from the parent movement headed by Prophet Elijah Muhammed to head a movement promising more immediate violence.

These were the new organized power currents that developed among Negroes in the post-World War II era. While not all of them sought integration, all of them did seek equality. They suggested a heightened group identification and impatience among Negroes, [1] and since they occurred at a time when desegregation was becoming a reality, they suggested that Negroes themselves — while hastening the demise of discrimination — might delay integration in its final stages. That is, group identification may

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[1] The crescendo of Negro opposition to discrimination during the 1950's and 1960's which reached the proportions of what was called a "Negro Revolt" by the summer of 1963, surprised many white Americans. This growing protest and group identification was predicted in my book, **The Negro's Morale**, published in 1949.

become so strong that Negroes, like many American Jews, may not want full integration.

World Opinion

As the Negro population was becoming more politically alert to the possibilities of changing race relations, the white population was becoming more aware of the need to change its traditional ways of associating with and thinking about Negroes. Perhaps the most important force here was the Second World War itself. It transformed the United States from an isolated and isolationist nation into a leading power with responsibilities in every part of the world. The American people had to see themselves as other people saw them, and they found the world's major criticism to be America's handling of its racial violence. Newspapers in every country reported on American discrimination and racial violence. A significant number of Americans became aware of this criticism, and it had a profound effect on their conscience. World reaction gained even greater significance as the colored nations of Asia and Africa, formerly under colonial rule, gained their independence. As the United States government partly realigned its foreign policy toward these new nations, it was obliged to encourage a more equalitarian treatment of non-white minorities at home. The formation of newly independent African nations after 1957 increased race-pride among American Negroes and strengthened their drive toward equality.

The Second World War and its aftermath brought unprecedented numbers of Americans in touch with other peoples. The Armed Services transported millions of Americans to Europe and Asia, and the tourist trade sent millions more to all parts of the world. Asiatics and Africans, especially students, began to visit the United States in significant numbers. A colored man on the downtown streets of New York City and Washington, D.C., was almost as likely to be a foreign as a native one, and even Southerners could no longer be sure whether the Negroes they saw in their cities were Americans or Africans. Perhaps more far-reaching was the change in the nation's mass media: Before 1940, newspapers, movies, and radio either ignored the Negro or stereotyped him unfavorably; after 1950, these media paid the Negro—foreign and native—a great deal of objective or favorable attention. Some social science research and certain novels made the Negro almost popular in some mainly intellectual

white circles. With the rising living standards of the American Negro and his efforts to integrate himself into American life, white Americans generally were also much more likely to have direct contact with middle-class Negroes.

Supreme Court Support

The more educated white Americans and those in closest contact with foreign opinion were most involved in the effort to eliminate discrimination and prejudice. This included the chief federal government officials. The United States Supreme Court led the way, perhaps because it was closer to the Constitution, which had been a thoroughly equalitarian document since 1868, and perhaps because it weighed foreign opinion along with domestic white opinion. The Supreme Court had generally sought to guarantee Negroes some legal protection, but it had equivocated until 1944 about the right to vote and about the equal use of public facilities. That year, a unanimous Court — in the case of Smith *v.* Allwright—declared unequivocally that the "white primary" was illegal, and that other such subterfuges to prevent Negroes from voting in the South were unconstitutional. Since then, the Court has consistently decided, with undivided opinions, that no branch of any government in the United States could practice any discrimination whatsoever on grounds of race or religion.

Perhaps the most important of these decisions was the one handed down on May 17, 1954, which held that it was unconstitutional for the public schools to segregate the races. This decision withdrew the last legal support from the Southern states' effort to segregate public facilities, such as parks, playgrounds, libraries, bathing beaches, as well as schools. The "separate but equal" doctrine was dead. The decision also applied to privately owned transportation facilities directly engaged in interstate commerce, including rail and bus terminal waiting rooms and restaurants. Only a small proportion of the local governments affected took immediate steps to desegregate, but through various pressures, the elaborate caste system of the South began to be dismantled. After 1954, the federal courts adjudicated many cases that were brought in order to implement the historic decision wiping out "separate but equal" facilities, but it could go no further in principle, for it was now operating in complete accord with the Constitutional provisions for full equality.

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Executive Action

The Executive branch of the federal government began to fulfill its responsibilities for enforcing equality during the 1930's. The Roosevelt Administration (1933-1945) practiced equality in the administration of some of its programs and for the first time hired Negroes in other than custodial or honorary capacities. The main innovation of the Roosevelt era, however, was forced on the President by the combined pressure of all the Negro organizations during the war, namely, the establishment of a Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) which had the task of preventing discrimination in employment by industries holding contracts with the federal government. The Truman Administration (1945-1953) went further in eliminating discrimination in federal employment and in the operation of federal programs, although it lost the FEPC in 1946 through Congressional action. Its main achievements along these lines were the virtual abolition of discrimination and segregation in the armed services and the support and publicity given to the President's Civil Rights Commission. The Eisenhower Administration (1953-1961) continued the existing non-discriminatory policies and gave administrative support to the courts' rulings on school desegregation—even to the point of calling out federal troops to enforce school desegregation in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957. The Kennedy Administration (1961-1963) pumped life into the government committee to enforce nondiscrimination in employment by industries with government contracts (thereby reviving in effect the FEPC for major manufacturing companies) and extended administrative support to the courts' rulings on nondiscrimination by the states and by agencies of interstate transportation. (Most important was the 1961 ruling by the Interstate Commerce Commission that rail and bus terminals might not segregate passengers). Further Executive action was taken in late 1962: President Kennedy signed a long delayed Executive Order to restrict government guarantees on loans to builders who insisted on excluding Negroes, and the Attorney General began a policy of calling on the National Guard and federal troops to assist in enforcing court orders for school desegregation. In June, 1963, the President responded to the crescendo of Negro protests against discrimination—stimulated by growing unemployment and by the observance of the centennial anniversary of the

Emancipation Proclamation—by setting before Congress a comprehensive program of proposed legislation guaranteeing voting rights and desegregation of public schools and prohibiting private enterprises involved in interstate commerce to refuse to do business with Negroes. While the last-mentioned feature had been in the statutes of 28 Northern states since shortly after the Supreme Court (1883) had declared unconstitutional the Civil Rights Act of 1875, Congress regarded it as a drastic innovation and showed a strong inclination to cut down a portion of the President's proposal. After the death of President Kennedy in November, 1963, President Johnson gave even more effective support to the civil rights bill then before Congress.

Congressional Legislation

The Legislative branch has the greatest power but the least achievement, largely because of the presence within it of Southern Congressmen. These are a minority but hold the balance of power between the conservatives and liberals—a position they exploit in order to prevent enactment of civil rights legislation—and they have a disproportionate share of congressional leadership positions because of their seniority. The Congress' main contribution to the equalization of the races has been a negative one: it has not sought to reverse the actions of the Judicial and Executive branches (except for killing the FEPC in 1946). In 1957, Congress passed its first statute since the 1870's to enforce civil rights; it was a weak law, which gave federal authorities some power to restrain local polling officials from preventing voting by Negroes. In 1960 it passed a second statute which slightly strengthened this law. It is doubtful that these statutes helped the position of Negroes enough to offset the damage inflicted on other liberal legislation such as the bill to provide federal aid for education by the political bargaining that was required. Negroes would be among those helped by the enactment of many bills which Southern congressmen block by deals with the conservatives: Scarcely a bill comes before Congress these days (except occasionally in the fields of defense and foreign policy) which does not have a "race angle." Pending legislation that enhances the civil rights of Negroes has usually been killed by the Southern congressional bloc, who extend support to non-Southern conservatives in their opposition to other socially progressive measures, in exchange for help in preventing the

passage of civil rights bills. Until the mass civil rights demonstration of mid-1963, there did not seem to be much hope for significant legislation from Congress.

Some of what Negro leaders want from the federal government can be provided by the Executive branch, and the votes of Negroes are more effective in the Presidential elections than in the Congressional races. It is doubtful, however, that civil rights groups will diminish their efforts to get federal legislation. The main effort in 1960-61 was to modify certain procedural rules in the Congress so that substantive civil rights legislation would be easier to pass. By 1963, however, the pressure from an awakening Negro populace (aided by many whites) forced Negro leaders to seek more substantive legislation to outlaw discrimination in voting, education, employment and business relations.

The Northern state governments and some local governments have been effective sources of change in American race relations. After the federal FEPC was killed by Congress in 1946, New York led the states in passing legislation setting up FEPCs within their jurisdictions. By the late 1950's, many Northern and Western states and cities with a sizeable Negro population had such legislation, designed to prevent discrimination in employment. (The count in 1963 was 20 states and 40 cities with some kind of FEPC law—covering 60 per cent of the total population and about 50 per cent of the minorities.) A more difficult problem for the North was discrimination in housing; but in 1958, New York again led the way by making it illegal to discriminate against a person on grounds of race, religion, or nationality in the sale or rental of most categories of housing. By 1963, seventeen states and cities had passed legislation of this sort. It is as yet too early to ascertain the effectiveness of these statutes in eliminating housing discrimination and segregation.

Organized Opposition

Such have been the main forces promoting the equalization of Negroes in American society since 1940. The main forces maintaining the subordination and segregation of Negroes have been those of tradition and the status quo. In 1954, however, a new factor entered which has undoubtedly prevented change from being more rapid than it might otherwise have been. This was the organization of Southern white opposition, mainly in the White Citizens' Councils. There had been no significant organiza-

tion aiming to hold the Negro in a subordinate position since the decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the late 1920's. Minor and local organizations had made sporadic efforts, but the leading reactionary movements of the period between 1930 and 1954 avoided attacking the position of Negroes. The reaction of the rapid changes of the post-1940 period did not gain organized expression until 1954. Racists did not organize their resistance to changes in the caste system effectively until the very keystone of that system was endangered by the Supreme Court decision to desegregate the public schools. But the economic, political, and legal aspects of the caste system had already changed materially, and the pattern of social segregation had long been threatened, before the proponents of the caste system organized themselves to protect it. For 25 years, the old racist ideology had found only occasional (and little heeded) spokesmen, and it was only after 1954 that it was again vigorously reasserted—and this at a time when the original source of this thinking had disappeared together with most of its material benefits. The ideology of racism was now no longer the response to a conflict between economic and political forces on the one hand and the idealism of the American creed and Constitution on the other, but merely an expression of a traditional psychology.

The Divided South

The Southern resistance movement drew strength from all social classes, but there were also defectors from all classes. Many of the leaders of the White Citizens' Councils were upper class, and they used their economic power to hurt Negroes who sought a greater measure of civic equality. But some of the economic leaders of the South took the position that resistance to the Supreme Court decision disturbed the social peace and was bad for business. They concluded that the South should stop "fighting the War Between the States" and should become forward-looking and efficient. Political and other organizational leaders were similarly divided; while few whites admitted being pro-Negro or in favor of equality, many influential people of the South felt that the Negro could no longer be simply subordinated. It is difficult to know how the less articulate whites of the South divided, but they did divide. While many participated in violent actions to prevent desegregation, a majority of the voters of Little Rock, Arkansas, for example, voted for a school board that had an-

nounced its intention to desegregate the public schools in accord with the federal court order. There was similar evidence in other parts of the South that significant numbers of whites were quietly resigned to desegregation. The articulate and organized group, however, was the one that favored the maintenance of the caste system, and it used boycotts, influence on the Southern legislatures, violence, and other means, to resist the changes. In general, this group is larger and more effective in the Deep South than in the Upper South; it is of little consequence in the border states. With some exceptions, the only ones to benefit from the caste system today are those, mainly in the lower classes, who get psychological satisfaction out of a sence of racial superiority. There is also a small, and decreasing number who benefit economically from the caste system by keeping the Negroes handicapped in job competition.

Minor Leaders

Some of the leaders of the resistance to change are those who believe that leaders should follow the wishes of the led. But there are also other types of leaders; a few have sought to make money by exploiting the fears of the white South. Another minor type seems to have a psychological need to lead violent movements. Still another rare type hoped to build a full-scale fascist movement out of the Southern resistance to desegregation, and they have had some success in attracting support from extreme right-wing radicals all over the country. But all of them together have not succeeded in stemming the changes in the system of discrimination and segregation. On occasions, a spontaneous leader will lead a day or two of violence, but most of the continuing leaders of the Southern resistance are persons with some traditional and legitimate authority. Imbued with a strong racist ideology, and a strong personal desire to keep the Negro subordinate, they also have a vested interest in keeping things on an even keel, and generally tend to hold their followers back from unplanned violence. Violence directed against Negroes might easily spread to white-owned property and other institutions, and so the traditional leaders try to keep racial agitation in check.

In the North, there is little organized resistance to change in race relations, though there are small property-owners' associations that oppose the movement of Negroes into certain neighborhoods and oppose the passage of "fair-housing" or "open-occu-

pancy" legislation. There are a great number of unorganized white Northerners who resist personal association with Negroes, particularly as neighbors and as social club members. Few Northern whites try to keep Negroes out of co-employment or out of the large, impersonal, voluntary associations, churches, or trade unions, but they still resist intimate association. For a few years following the development of the Southern resistance, there was an unorganized but articulate movement among some Northern leaders to put brakes on the trend toward equalization, particularly as it affected the South. Taking up the Southern theme of "leaving the South alone to work out its own problems," they argued that "both kinds of extremists are dangerous." But the majority of Northern leaders seem to have been persuaded that the South has always moved more rapidly toward better race relations when prodded by the North. The Northern proponents of "moderation" were most articulate in the period of 1955-58, but they probably will be heard again if widespread violence occurs in the South. In 1964, right-wing extremist whites in California and Washington organized to curtail the Fair Housing statutes; they may be the forerunners of larger movements of resistance in the North.

Labor and Race

The race relations crisis presents a continuing dilemma for those segments of Northern opinion that have strong ties with the South. This is true not merely for those who have family and personal connections with Southerners, but for Northern businessmen and trade union leaders with Southern branches. The national labor movement, for example, has not moved as forthrightly on integration within its own ranks as might have been expected because of pressures from Southern (and some Northern) locals and because of its hopes of organizing more white Southern workers. In 1959, Negro labor leaders formed the Negro American Labor Council to pressure the AFL-CIO into a position of complete integration. For a period, the leadership of the national labor movement refused to recognize the Negro group except in the critical terms of "dual unionism." By the end of 1961, however, the president of the AFL-CIO, George Meany, verbally capitulated, and created organizational machinery to eliminate discrimination and segregation in the member unions. Organized labor remains, however, a divided force on

the race issue, not only because of its Southern elements but also because the craft unions in the North refuse to modify their work rules to allow "new elements" into their crafts.

In the dynamic situation created by all these forces, any description of the position of Negroes written at any one moment is bound to be dated before it can be printed. The picture at the beginning of 1964 is here painted in broad strokes, necessarily superficial and incomplete. In 1940, Negroes were excluded from most occupations outside of agriculture and services; by 1960, some Negroes were to be found in nearly every occupation. Between 1940 and 1960, the proportion of white males in the labor force who had "white-collar jobs" rose from 30.3 to 41.2 per cent, while among non-white males the corresponding rise was from 5.0 to 16.0 per cent. At the same time the rise in skilled and semi-skilled "blue-collar jobs" was from 34.3 to 38.6 per cent among white males and from 16.6 to 32.7 per cent among non-white males. Considerable employment discrimination remained in the South and even in the border states, but it was greatly diminished in the Northern and Western states. This did not mean that Negroes were approaching occupational equality, for there was the heritage of inadequate training, low skill orientation, poor general education, and low seniority. The training lag was the most serious, because union and company seniority rules often made it impossible for Negroes to obtain training for better jobs.

Discrimination in economic benefits provided by the government—poor-relief, unemployment compensation, old-age assistance, public housing, and others—had been all but wiped out, except where there was local control in some Southern communities. A notable exception arose in Louisiana in 1960 where the "Aid to Dependent Children" program was curtailed for mothers who had illegitimate children while receiving ADC aid for their older children. This was applied almost exclusively to Negroes.

The Negro and the Vote

Negroes were voting without restriction in most areas of the Upper South, and in some cities of the Deep South. Between 1956 and 1960, while the increase in the total population voting was 8 per cent, the estimated increase in the number of Negroes voting was 16 per cent. The only state that almost systematically excluded Negroes from the polls (as they had been throughout the South in 1940) was Mississippi. Here, and in many rural areas

of the other Deep Southern states, they were illegally prevented from voting by the whim of local polling officials and by threats of violence. The poll tax still existed in five states as a requirement for voting, although by the beginning of 1964 a Constitutional amendment was passed to make it illegal for federal elections. Several Southern states had literacy and "understanding" tests for all voters, but they were given to Negroes with discriminatory severity. Negroes occasionally ran for the minor local offices. In Atlanta, a Negro was elected to the Georgia state legislature with the aid of white voters. The main changes in Southern politics resulting from Negro voting were the election of liberal Democrats in several states and the breaking of the barriers which hitherto prevented conservatives from voting Republican.

Hence, the two-party system began to develop in the South (especially in Texas and Florida). In the 1948 and 1960 presidential elections, Negro votes in several Southern as well as Northern states provided the margin of victory for the Democratic candidates. In 1963 there were five Negro congressmen and many local public officials, mainly in Northern cities, and Negroes were thoroughly integrated into the local political parties of the Northern states. In Massachusetts in 1962, a Negro was elected to a major state office (attorney general) for the first time since Reconstruction days. Many Negroes were in significant appointive posts, including federal judgeships. The great majority of Negroes were voting Democratic, although there was some evidence of their flexibility in switching party affiliation when a local Republican candidate seemed more pro-Negro than his Democratic counterpart.

The Negro and the Law

In 1940, law enforcement in the South was virtually nonexistent when Negroes were the victims (whether whites or other Negroes were the criminals), and brutally severe when whites were the victims and Negroes the law violators. By the 1950's, there were many cases, even in the Deep South, of white persons who committed crimes against Negroes being prosecuted and punished, although this was by no means general. Negro criminals whose victims were other Negroes were much more likely to be dealt with properly by law enforcement officials. Practically all Southern cities employed Negro policemen after 1945 to main-

tain law and order in their Negro communities, and Southern judges were no longer likely to release Negro criminals on the word of a white man. There was still considerable "over-enforcement" of the law when Negroes were apprehended for crimes against whites, but civil suits between a white and a Negro were handled much more equitably. Despite the mass violence which attended many instances of desegregation, extra-legal violence of the everyday, person-to-person basis which was characteristic of the pre-1940 period was now greatly reduced. Lynching was a rare event after 1950, and even murders of Negro prisoners by white policemen and jailers became infrequent. Thus, even while tension between the races in the South mounted, and the mass violence attending some desegregation got great publicity, total violence declined. This seemed to be due to the fact that potential white perpetrators of violence were aware that they were in some danger of retribution from the law or from retaliating Negroes. In the North, police brutality remained sporadic and individual, (it had never been a matter of policy), and there was no evidence of discrimination by judges. While the Second World War years saw some major race riots in the North and West, the formation of interracial citizens' committees in many Northern cities practically eliminated them from 1944 on. The major exception was Chicago and some of its suburbs, where there were numerous small riots all through the 1940's and 1950's, when Negroes moved into new residential neighborhoods or attempted to swim at the "white" public bathing beaches.

Housing

These changes in the economic, political, and legal spheres were occuring regularly and generally with little public attention or controversy. Changes in the area of social relations, however, were coming about in some areas but not in others, and at times received a great deal of notice. The movement of rural Negroes into the Northern and Southern cities was associated with housing segregation, and housing segregation brought the inevitable segregation of neighborhood facilities, overcrowding, high rents, run-down buildings, slums, and expansion into new neighborhoods attended by conflict with whites. This became the most serious aspect of the race problem, certainly in the North. The chief legal buttress for housing segregation has been the

"restrictive covenant," a clause written into a deed for property preventing its resale to members of specified groups, mainly Negroes. In 1948, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that the restrictive covenant was unenforceable in the courts, thus wiping out the legal support for housing segregation and allowing it to rest on voluntary action. The decision eased the situation for Negroes somewhat, and it was followed by various organized efforts to develop integrated housing in the North. Publicly subsidized housing was no longer segregated, and some privately sponsored integrated housing projects were developed. But the great masses of urban Negroes remained segregated, and there was some evidence that housing segregation was increasing in the South. Negroes themselves fought the housing restrictions only when there was insufficient space to live; only a few of them sought to break the pattern of segregation itself. By the end of the 1950's some Northern states passed statutes making it illegal to refuse to rent or sell housing to Negroes, and, generally, in the North, the space pressures on Negroes eased considerably. Late in 1962, the President issued an Executive order which restricts the lending of money with government guarantees if the housing affected is not available for lease or purchase by minority groups. Political considerations limited the coverage of this order to only about a third of the 90 per cent of all housing units covered by such loans. A full witholding of government credit and guarantees would remove the strongest barrier to housing integration. Whether Negroes would move in large numbers to take advantage of it is more questionable. At this time, housing segregation remains as the most serious and least soluble aspect of the race problem, certainly in the Northern states.

The Schools

Segregation of other public and privately owned but essentially public facilities remained the effect of housing segregation in the North. This has become known as *de facto* segregation, and there were several local efforts to mix children in the public schools despite the fact that their residences were largely segregated. Forced segregation of schools, playgrounds, restaurants, hotels, and other public and commercial establishments became exceptional in the North as the climate of opinion changed and the old "public accommodations" statutes of the Northern states once again became operative. Some cities began movements to

upgrade Negro education—to compensate for cultural deprivation in the family and community—preparatory to initiating programs to end *de facto* school segregation. In the South, desegregation of these kinds of facilities began as a result of the court decisions and the organized movements already examined. By 1961, school systems were formally desegregated in all the border states; in many scattered areas of the Upper South and in a few cities of the Deep South there was token desegregation. Violence had attended school desegregation in Dover, Delaware; Clinton and Nashville, Tennessee; Little Rock, Arkansas; and New Orleans, Louisiana. But it was accomplished peacefully and more thoroughly in the larger school systems of Washington, D. C.; St. Louis, Missouri; Dallas and Houston, Texas; and Atlanta, Georgia. By 1961, only Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina had none of their schools desegregated, and by 1963 even these had token desegregation in a few schools. There was only spotty and token desegregation in all of the Deep Southern states and some of the Upper Southern states, but over one-third of all Negro children living in school districts segregated by statute before 1955 were in desegregated schools by 1963.

Desegregation of the other public and the privately owned commercial establishments took roughly the same pattern, though with a few years' delay. In the two years of 1959 and 1960, the sit-in movement opened some restaurants to Negroes in about 200 cities of the South, and there was continuing desegregation after that. But the majority of restaurants in many of these cities remained segregated, and Negro patronage of the non-segregated restaurants was rare. Some hotels in the larger Southern cities, such as Houston and Atlanta, quietly desegregated. An issue arose over the exclusion of dark-skinned representatives of foreign nations from the highway restaurants of Maryland, a border state, and the federal government intervened with partial success. Hotels, theaters, and recreational facilities were opened to Negroes on approximately the same basis as restaurants: In every state but Mississippi and Alabama, at least some were desegregated, but the majority in the Deep South and even some areas of the Upper South remained segregated, and Negro patronage of the desegregated facilities was rare. Interstate transportation was effectively desegregated, and—after the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott of 1957—so was the local transportation within many Southern cities.

Social Relations

One of the major gains in the North was the desegregation of most of the major voluntary associations. The major professional associations were desegregated in the South also. Except for weak, formal associations (such as the PTAs), most other Southern voluntary associations remained segregated. Social clubs and informal groups remained segregated throughout the country, with a few exceptions in the North. College fraternities and sororities remained mainly segregated in fact, although a campaign in the North to remove formal barriers was largely successful. Almost the same could be said of the churches, although in mixed neighborhoods, churches sometimes served members of both races.

Interracial marriages were probably on the increase in the North, although they were still not frequent. In the South, interracial marriage continued to be illegal: This was the one type of law discriminating among the races still on the statute books of the Southern states; not even the Negro organizations sought to challenge it and hence the courts had no occasion to declare it unconstitutional. The probability is that the courts would declare it unconstitutional, for they had nullified a California statute barring marriage between whites and Orientals. But apparently the Negro leadership thought it unwise to challenge this last formal barrier of the caste system, at least until other forms of desegregation should be accomplished in greater degree.

The formerly elaborate "etiquette of race relations" was crumbling in the South, and it became common to hear Negroes addressed by whites by their formal titles of "Mr.," "Mrs." and "Miss." The self-demeaning manner of Negroes in the presence of whites disappeared except in the rural areas. With the improvement in occupational opportunities, Negroes were much less likely to be domestic servants. The barriers to serious conversations between the races broke down in the North, but remained in the South. The results of these changes were that Northern whites could perceive Negroes as human beings for the first time, while relations between the races in the South grew cold as they became increasingly restricted to matters of common economic interest. The white Southerners were no longer sure they understood "their" Negroes, and Negroes could no longer be relied on to maintain their "place" in the presence of whites. A Gallup poll taken in July, 1963 showed that 63 per cent of white Southerners

expected that there would soon be complete integration of the races in public accommodations, although six years earlier this proportion was only 45 per cent. What is more, 49 per cent expected this integration to be achieved within the coming five years, and only 9 per cent expected that it would take longer than twenty years. The same poll showed that 56 per cent of the total population believed that Negroes were treated the "same as whites" in their community, with Negroes in every region outside the South sharing this majority view.

If Present Trends Continue

There could be no doubt that the races were moving rapidly toward equality and desegregation by 1964. In retrospect, the changes of the preceding twenty years appeared as one of the most rapid in the history of human relations. Much of the old segregation and discrimination remained in the Deep South, and housing segregation with its concomitants was still found throughout the country, but the all-encompassing caste system had been broken everywhere. Prejudice as an attitude was still common, but racism as a comprehensive ideology was maintained by only a few. The change had been so rapid, and caste and racism so debilitated, that this author ventures to predict—if the present trends continue—the end of all legal segregation and discrimination within a decade, and the decline of informal segregation and discrimination to a mere shadow in two decades. The attitude of prejudice might remain indefinitely, but it will be on the minor order of Catholic-Protestant prejudice within three decades. These changes would not mean that there would be equality between the races within this time, for the heritage of past discriminations would still operate to give Negroes lower "life chances." But the dynamic social forces creating inequality will, if the present trends continue, be practically eliminated in three decades. As far as separation of the races without overt discrimination is concerned, this will come for a while to be more associated with Negro group identification than with white exclusionism. It would only be appropriate to guess that most sociologists would find these predictions "optimistic," but then, most sociologists found the predictions contained in *An American Dilemma* of twenty years ago optimistic, and most of these predictions have since come true.

The Social Present

The student of society, who must have historical perspective and be aware of continuities and rigidities in the social structure, may consider the development in American race relations from 1942 to 1964 among the most rapid and dramatic of social changes to have ever been achieved without violent revolution. To the participants themselves the changes did not appear to be so rapid. People generally live from day to day, and from month to month, without historical perspective, and hence tend not to perceive changes that occur over a period of years. The "social present" usually means much more to people than does social change. Young people who have come to awareness of the world around them during the latter part of the period under consideration see only the conditions of the last few years; for them the conditions of the pre-1940 period are "ancient history" and hence the changes of twenty years are not part of their image of the modern world. These things are true for all social change. But of particular significance for our analysis is the fact that Negroes *still* experience discrimination, insult, segregation and the threat of violence, and in a sense have become more sensitive and less "adjusted" to these things. To them the current problems and current conflicts have much more significance than those of ten or twenty years ago. Schooled as they are by the American Creed, their standard of comparison for the present situation is not what existed in 1940 but what the Constitution and "the principles of democracy" say should be. Further, most American Negroes are aware of great changes going on in Africa, and in fact are inclined to exaggerate the "improvements" there resulting from the demise of old-fashioned colonialism. From their perspective, the changes occurring in the United States are much too slow; they want "freedom *now*," as the slogan goes. White Americans, who have in mind the United States Constitution and their country's role in a world whose population is two-thirds colored, might agree with them.